

A Study of the Terms for ‘father’ in Gothic

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This article is a study of the kinship term for ‘father’ in Gothic, in comparison with other Indo-European languages.

Gothic is an old Germanic language which belongs to the now extinct East Germanic group. It has special value for Indo-European linguists because it was recorded several hundred years before the oldest surviving texts of all the other Germanic languages.¹⁾ Namely, Gothic shows the transition and development from the Proto Indo-European language to various Germanic languages.

It is well known that the Indo-European kinship terms are the most consistent and the best attested terms. They are observed in almost all Indo-European languages with clear concordances, therefore, they show the Proto Indo-European glossary (Adamantidis, 2003, p. 2). Without exception, the Gothic kinship terms inherited from the Proto Indo-European language are also well preserved in the *r*-stem class with cognates in other Indo-European languages.

Then, for the kinship terms, there are in the Indo-European languages another kind of words in addition to archaic forms, which are generally called nursery words. Although these nursery words are derived from the language of children, their distributions are very extensive. Therefore, they suggest the Proto Indo-European status also. Only, considering the occurrence, the inherited forms in *r*-stem class are surely much more used than these nursery words in almost all Indo-European languages.

But, in Gothic, remarkably, *atta*, the nursery word for ‘father,’ is more generally used than *fadar*, the inherited from the Proto Indo-European language. The word *fadar* is attested only once in the remained Gothic Bible, namely, in Galatians 4:6, e.g. *abba fadar* = $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha \delta \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ ‘O, my father,’ while *atta* is attested total 255 times (Snædal, 1998, pp. 100-104).

To explain this peculiar distribution, various arguments have been made by many researchers in phonological aspects (Jellinek, 1926 etc.), semantic aspects (Sen, 1972; Ebbinghaus, 1974; Bammesberger, 1994 etc.) and other various aspects (Sturtevant, 1951 etc.). In this article, I deal with this problem reconsidering existing arguments through analysis and with criticism on them, and try to find a solution in correlation with the another

1) except for an earlier runic inscription in Old Norse.

kinship term for 'mother' which shows in Gothic like the terms for 'father' a remarkable character.

Key words: Gothic, Proto Indo-European language, kinship term, nursery word, semantic field, cacophony, analogy, case, cognate

1. Introduction

1.1. What is Gothic and its Uniqueness

Gothic is the earliest extensively recorded Germanic language that has come down to us. Knowledge of it is derived primarily from the remains of a Bible translation made in the 4th century by the Visigothic bishop Wulfila (311-383/4?),²⁾ although the surviving manuscripts are not originals but later copies thought to have been written in northern Italy in the first half of the 6th century.

They include considerable portions of the New Testament and a minor part of the Old Testament (Nehemiah). Other remains are scarce and include fragments of a commentary on St. John's Gospel (so-called *Skeireins*), a fragment of a calendar, two deeds containing some Gothic sentences, a 10th-century manuscript which gives the Gothic alphabet, a few Gothic words with Latin translation (the so-called *Codex Veronensia*) and some phonetic remarks with illustrative examples.

With the nature of its extant linguistic corpus, Gothic is a very important language which shows the transition and development from the Indo-European language to various Germanic languages and gives clear understanding for their structures in general. That is, Gothic occupies a unique position within the Indo-European linguistics and Germanic linguistics.

1.2. Kinship Terms in General and Peculiarity of the Terms for 'father' in Gothic

It is known that kinship terms belong to basic words³⁾ which well pre-

2) Wulfila was a missionary who was consecrated bishop of the Gothic Christians by the patriarch of Constantinople. He created the Gothic alphabet and translated the Bible into Gothic. This was the earliest translation of the Bible into a Germanic language.

3) To basic words belong the terms that denote parts of body, sense of body, natural phe-

serve archaic forms inherited from the Proto-language than other words. Therefore, the gothic kinship terms would attest and show the words of the Proto Indo-European language (abbreviated to PIE) and Proto Germanic language (abbreviated to PGmc).⁴⁾

In Gothic, the kinship terms inherited from the Indo-European language are in principle well preserved in the *r*-stem class of consonantal inflections.⁵⁾ From the times of PIE most denotations for the near kinship relation were already made with the suffix *-ter/-tr-* accompanying the vowel gradation (= Germ. *Ablaut*), and they are attested in Gothic, as *fadar* 'father' (< PIE **pātēr*, Ved. *pitā*, Grk. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*, ON *faðir*, OE *fæder* etc.), *broþar* 'brother' (< PIE **bhrātēr*, Gk. *φρᾱτήρ*, Lat. *frāter*, ON *brōðir*, OHG *bruoder*, OCS *bratru* etc.), *dauhtar* 'daughter' (< PIE **dhughtēr*, Gk. *θυγάτηρ*, Ved. *duhitar*, ON *dóttir*, OE *dohtor*, OHG *tohter*) and *swistar* 'sister' (< PIE **suesōr*, Lat. *soror*, ON. *systir*, OE *sweostor*, OHG *swestro* etc.).⁶⁾

But, in addition to *fadar* which is a archaic form in the *r*-stem class, there are other words for 'father' in Gothic, *atta* and *abba*. The word *atta* is generally considered as a nursery word⁷⁾ and *abba* as a loan word from Aramaic. Especially, *atta* shows the widespread distribution in Indo-European languages, that is, its distribution suggests PIE status. As cognates of Gothic *atta* (< PGmc. **attō* < PIE **at-*) Grk. *ἄττα*, Lat. *atta*, ON *atti*, Hitt *attas* are attested.⁸⁾

nomena, number and pronoun etc. As we have already known, Swadesh (1948) has developed the Glottochronology based on the extent of preservation of these words. Glottochronology is a method that makes the cognate relations among languages clear (Kim, 1988, p. 109).

4) The abbreviated forms used in this article are as follows: PIE = Proto Indo-European language, PGmc = Proto Germanic language, Grk. = Greek, Lat. = Latin, Ved. = Vedic, Skt = Sanskrit, TochA = TocharianA, TochB = TocharianB, OE = Old English, ON = Old Norse, OCS = Old Church Slavic, Av. = Avestan, OHG = Old High German, Hitt = Hittite, NHG = New High German, Fr. = French, Wels. = Welsh, Alb. = Albanian, Iris. = Irish, NE = New English, Germ = German, Ital. = Italian.

5) In Gothic there are three kinds of consonantal inflections, *n-*, *nd-*, *r*-stem class.

6) The inherited form for 'mother' (*modar**) does not exist in Gothic.

The mark * behind a word means that it is not attested in the text.

7) The nursery word (or nursery language) means the word or language spoken or used by babies or children in the process of language acquisition. It is also called baby talk or child speech (Cho, 1990, p. 819).

8) Besides this, there are still for 'father' more words like Grk. *τατᾱ*, *τέττα*, Lat. *tata* (inscription), Wels. *tad*, NE *dad*, lett. *teta* etc. (< PIE **tata*), and like Grk. *πάππα* 'papa', *πάππος* 'Grandfather', Lat. *papa* 'papa' etc. But, in this article the discussion for these words is ex-

In Gothic, but one can find the noticeable one distinguished from in other Indo-European languages. It is the very fact that *atta*, the nursery word for ‘father,’ is more generally used than *fadar*, the inherited form, while in most of other Indo-European languages the inherited forms of PIE **pətēr* in *r*-stem class are more generally used than *atta*. The gothic word *fadar* is attested only once in remained Gothic Bible, in the phrase Galatians 4:6, *abba fadar* = $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha \delta \pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ ‘O, my father.’

Considering that the Gothic bible is a translation of the Greek Bible and supposing that in his times the translator would have tried to translate the Bible faithful to the original text in terms of religious tradition, this fact attracts certainly our interest.

It is, undoubtedly, not remarkable that there are synonyms for ‘father.’ But why did Wulfila use *fadar*, not *atta*, solely once in the phrase Galatians 4:6? Is there any particular reason for preference of *atta* to *fadar* in Gothic? Are they actually synonymous?

By now, various arguments for it have been made by many researchers. In next Chapter, I will examine and analyze these arguments and deal with them with criticism in some cases, if needed.

2. Problem of the Terms for ‘father’ in Gothic

2.1. Three Terms for ‘father’ in Gothic - *fadar*, *atta* and *abba*

Among kinship terms in Indo-European languages the best and most often attested forms are the denotations of father which are inherited from PIE **pətēr*. These words mean generally the social position of father as a master of the extended family. They would be regarded as consisting of verbal root **pə-* ‘nurture, pasture, beware’ and suffix **-ter* which denotes the nominal agent.⁹⁾ The inherited form from PIE **pətēr* is attested in Gothic as a *fadar*, and its cognates are also observed in most Indo-European languages, e.g. Skt. *pitar*, Grk. $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$, Lat. *pater*, ON *faðir*, OE *fæder*, OHG *fater*, TochA *pācar*, TochB *pācer*, Av. *pitar* etc.

But, besides *fadar*, in Gothic other two terms for ‘father’ exist. They are (1) *atta* and (2) *abba*.

cluded because they are not found in Gothic.

9) But, the opinion for the acceptance of nominal agent-suffix is still disputable.

(1) *atta* in Gothic or *papa* in Fr. and NHG are relatively familiar nursery words, and they exist naturally in many other Indo-European languages. As cognates of Gothic *atta* Grk. *ἄτα*, Lat. *atta*, ON *atti*, Hitt. *attas*, OCS. *otici*, OHG *atto*, Alb. *at* etc.¹⁰⁾ are observed, and it is known that they denote the bodily father, while the Indo-European **pətēr* is used to denote a member with social, economical and political leading stratum or a member with the highest gods of Indo-European.¹¹⁾

But, Gothic *atta* seems to have a more broaden semantic field. That is, Gothic *atta* includes meanings expressed by the Indo-European cognates of *fadar* (< PIE **pətēr*). That is, in the following examples, we can observe that it means not only the bodily father with a demonstrative pronoun *sa* but also God without *sa*.

Luke 15:22

Goth. *qab þan sa atta du skalkam seinaim: sprauto bringiþ wastja þo frumiston jah gawasjib ina jah gibib figgragulþ in handu is jah gaskohi ana fotuns is.*

Grk. *εἶπεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ, ταχὺ ἐξενέγκατε στολὴν τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐνδύσατε αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτε δακτύλιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποδήματα εἰς τοὺς πόδας*

NHG *Der Vater* aber sagte zu seinen Knechten : Holt schnell das beste Gewand und zieht es ihm an, steckt ihm einen Ring an die Hand und zieht ihm Schuhe an.

NE but the father said to his servants. "Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet.

Mark 9:24

Goth. *jah sunsaiw ufþropjands sa atta þis barnis miþ tagram qab galaubja; hilf meinaizos ungalaubeinais!*

Grk. *εὐθὺς κράξας ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ παιδίου ἔλεγεν, πιστεύω; βοήθει μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ.*

NHG Da rief der Vater des Jungen: Ich glaube; hilf meinem Unglauben!

NE And straightway the father of the child cried out, and said with tears, Lord, I believe; help you

10) Skt. *attā* means particularly 'mother'.

11) Lat. *Jupiter* shows the extended form inherited from Grk. vocative *Zeu pater*.

John 10:30

Goth. *ik jah atta meins ain siju.*

Grk. ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐσμεν

NHG Ich und der Vater sind eins

NE I and my father are one. (In this phrase, the speaker is Jesus, therefore father denotes God).

John 16:32

Goth. *jah ni im ains, unte atta miþ mis ist.*

Grk. καὶ οὐκ εἰμι μόνος, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν

NHG Aber ich bin nicht allein, denn der Vater ist bei mir.

Eng. but I am not alone, because father is with me. (In this phrase, the speaker is Jesus, therefore father denotes God).

In most Indo-European languages the inherited forms from PIE **pater* are more often used than the nursery words like *atta* in Gothic. But, in Hittite, Old Church Slavic and Albanian only the cognates of **atta-* exist (e.g. Hitt. *atta*, OCS *otici*).

Schmeja (1999, pp. 413-423) supposes that the reason of absence of the inherited form from PIE **pater* in the (East) European languages like the Anatolian (e.g. Hittite) and Slavic languages is that in these languages this word either stay strange or can't prevail the nursery word. Benveniste (1993, pp. 164-165) suggests that in languages like Hittite or OCS old mythology for 'God-father as a dominator' does not exist, because nursery words can mean only familiar relation and bodily father.

Gothic *abba* is a loan word from Aramaic¹²⁾ *a'bbā* 'my father' shown in the translation of the Bibles in the early times (Feist, 1939, p.1). This word is observed in other Indo-European languages as well, e.g. Grk. ἄββ ἄ, Lat. *Abba*, and with its particular role it is handed down to the translations of the Bibles in modern times.

(2) *abba* is generally known to us that it is used only in prayer and within intimate family circle. In the New Testament the word *abba* is attested three times, Mark 14:36, Romans 8:15, Galatians 4:6.

12) Aramaic is one of the Semitic languages. It is particularly closely related to Hebrew, and was written in a variety of alphabetic scripts (What is usually called "Hebrew" script is actually an Aramaic script). Aramaic displaced Hebrew for many purposes among the Jews, and it is often reflected, therefore, in the Bible.

Mark 14:36

Grk. αββα ὁ πατήρ πάντα δυνατά σοι

Lat. Abba, Pater! Omnia tibi possibilia sunt

NHG Er sprach: Abba, Vater, alles ist dir möglich. Nimm diesen Kelch von mir!

NE Abba, father, everything is possible for you

Romans 8:15

Grk. πάλιν εἰς φόβον ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν
αββα ὁ πατήρ

Lat. sed accepistis Spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: Abba, Pater!

NHG sondern ihr habt den Geist empfangen, der euch zu Söhnen macht, den Geist, in dem wir rufen: Abba, Vater!

NE but you received the Spirit of sonship. And by him we cry, "Abba, father"

Galatians 4:6

Grk. ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, κρᾶζον, αββα ὁ πατήρ

Lat. Quoniam autem estis filii, misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamantem: Abba, Pater!

NHG. Weil ihr aber Söhne seid, sandte Gott den Geist seines Sohnes in unser Herz, den Geist, der ruft: Abba, Vater!

NE. and because you are sons, God has sent forth the spirit of his son into your hearts, crying, abba, father!

But, unfortunately, two preceeding passages (Mark 14:36, Romans 8:15) are not extant in Gothic. As we have seen above, the meaning and use of the word *abba* with own field is clearly distinguished from other terms *atta* and *fadar*. Therefore, in the next chapter I will intensively deal with the problems between *atta* and *fadar*.

2.2. Analysis of Uses and Meanings of *atta* and *fadar*2.2.1. Existing Researches for *atta* and *fadar* and their Problems

As we have seen above, in the extant Gothic Bible *fadar* is only once attested in Vocative in Galatians 4:6, corresponding to Greek original *ἀββᾶ*

ὁ πατήρ ‘Abba, Father’:

Goth. *abban batei sijub jus sunjus gudis, in sandida gub ahman sunaus seinisin hairtona izwara hropjandan: abba, fadar!*

Grk. ὅτι ὅς ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, κρᾶζον, αββα ὁ πατήρ

Lat. Quoniam autem estis filii, misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamantem: Abba, Pater!

NHG. Weil ihr aber Söhne seid, sandte Gott den Geist seines Sohnes in unser Herz, den Geist, der ruft: Abba, Vater!

NE. and because you are sons, God has sent forth the spirit of his son into your hearts, crying, abba, father!

On the other hand, *atta* is very often attested, Nom. Sing. *atta* (81 times), Gen. Sing. *attins* (28 times), Dat. Sing. *attin* (72 times), Acc. Sing. *attan* (45 times), *attin* (once in Mark 10:29), Voc. Sing. *atta* (10 times), Nom. Pl. *attans* (7 times), Gen. Pl. *attane* (2 times), Dat. Pl. *attam* (3 times), Acc. Pl. *attans* (3 times) and Voc. Pl. *attans* (once in Kollosians 3:21). And it corresponds always to Greek πατήρ (Snædal, 1998, pp. 100-104; Yoon, 2005, p. 100).

With this disproportionate distribution of *fadar* and *atta*, many researchers have tried to explain it in various aspects. The arguments are largely divided to the phonological aspects (Jellinek, 1926 etc.), semantic aspects (Sen, 1972; Ebbinghaus, 1974; Bammesberger, 1994 etc.) and linguistic habits or other reasons (Sturtevant, 1951).

Jellinek (1926, p.195) explains that *fadar* is used only once in Galatian 4:6 because the usual word *atta* could create in this place a cacophony¹³⁾ (= Germ. Missklang) with the next word *abba*. That is, the translator doesn't want the same sound (a + geminate + a) to repeat successively, e.g. *abba atta**.

But, it is actually not known what cacophony is or not in Gothic, and besides this case, there are no similar examples in other places showing that different words with same meaning are exchanged to avoid a cacophony. Moreover, the examples like *liuhtjai liuhap* 'light shines'

13) It, in other word, dissonance, means the disagreeable combination of sounds. Generally, it is known that there are three reasons for it. (1) when sounds with very different articulatory place occur successively (2) when consonant clusters occur successively (3) when same sounds occur successively (Cho, 1990, p. 156).

(Matthew 5:16) and *klismo klismjandei* 'clanging cymbal' (Corinthians 13:1) with successive same sounds are often observed. Most of all, if *fadar* exists undoubtedly in the gothic lexical list as a synonym of *atta*, it must be attested, regardless of cacophony, in other places. But, *fadar* is not shown anywhere except Galatians 4:6.

Sturtevant (1951, p. 26) suggests the different opinion. According to his opinion, Wulfila translated in this phrase Greek ἄββᾱ, not πατήρ, into *fadar*, because the latter word πατήρ was elsewhere regularly rendered by *atta*. Namely, Wulfila tried to preserve two words for 'father' in the Gothic Bible corresponding to two words for ἄββᾱ and πατήρ in the original greek Bible. Therefore, he used the archaic word *fadar* inherited from PIE to translate the greek foreign word ἄββᾱ from Aramaic, and elsewhere retained the usual word *atta* to translate the usual native Greek word πατήρ.

His opinion presupposes that a aramaic word *a'bbā* was adopted by greek Christians, in order to use for calling father of a family and God, and they always translated it into ὁ πατήρ in vocative.

Grk. ἄββᾱ ⇒ ὁ πατήρ (reduplicated expression of ἄββᾱ)

Goth. *abba* ⇒ *fadar* (reduplicated expression of *abba*)

But, his opinion is also disputable. Considering translations consisting of *Abba* + usual word in other Indo-European languages (e.g. Lat. *Abba*, *pater*!), it is not persuadable for the reason why the usual word *atta* is only here not used in Gothic.

Sen (1972, pp. 255-259) suggests two possibilities as an answer for problem of *fadar* and *atta*. He thinks either the word *atta* was 'the more frequent form' in Wulfila's language, or *fadar* and *atta* were not synonymous. He objects to the first of these two possibilities with the well represented descendants of PIE **pāter* in all the other Germanic languages, and adopts the second. He tries the semantic analysis for *atta* and *fadar* to explain the second possibility.

With a number of examples in other languages like Assamese, Sindhi and Gujrati,¹⁴⁾ he argues that *atta* in Gothic would include compre-

14) Assamese *ata* 'a respectable old man', Sindhi *ata*, Gujrati *ataji* 'grandfather'.

hensive meanings from ‘God, the divine father. procreator’ with a religious character to ‘a respectable old man, grandfather, ancestor’ and also it would imply a relationship based on respect and admiration, while *fadar* means only ‘father’ in a blood relationship.

He induces this theory from the meaning of *fadrein* ‘parternity, parents, race, lineage,’ a derivative of *fadar*.¹⁵⁾ That is, *fadar* in Galatians 4:6 is used because it means in this phrase the blood relationship with the divine ‘Father’ involving the process of procreation.

* Semantic field of *atta* and *fadar* supposed by Sen (1972)

<i>atta</i>	<i>fadar</i>
God divine father ancestor human father	bodily father in direct blood relationship

But, these analyses of meanings are also ambiguous, regarding that the

15) The word *fadrein* derived from *fadar* ‘father’ (< PGmc. **fadr-i-na-*) is attested in Gothic with different meanings respectively as a masculine and a neutral noun in the *a*-stem class. In the Gospel, it occurs four times with the meaning ‘parents,’ and in these cases it is always combined with a masculine plural demonstrative pronoun and a plural verb;

John 9:20
Goth. *andhofun þan im þai fadrein is jah qebun* (Nom. Sing)
NE His parents answered them and said.

John 9:22
Goth. *þata qebun þai fadrein is* (Nom. Sing)
NE His parents spoke that.

Luke 8:56
Goth. *jah usgeisnodedun fadrein izos* (Nom. Sing.)
NE and her parents were astonished.

John 9:18
Goth. *unte atwopidedun þands fadrein is* (Acc. Sing.)
NE until they called the parents of him.

But, in the Epistles it is inflected as a regular neutral plural noun with the meaning ‘parents and ancestor,’ e.g. *fadreina* (Korinthians2 12:14). In the form of gen. sing. *fadrein* has the meaning of ‘generation, family lineage’ (Ephesians 3:15; Luke 2:4):

Corinthians2 12:14
Goth. *ni auk skulun barna fadreinam huzdjan, ak fadreina barnam*
NE for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children

Luke 2:4
Goth. *duþe ei was us garda fadreinais Daweidis*
NE because he was of the house and lineage of David

based text is the Bible which could permit various interpretations according to different viewpoint and that the Gothic Bible is, moreover, a translation from the original greek text. Following examples in which *atta* is used in vocative show this kind of ambiguities of its meanings.

John 11:41

Goth. *ushofun þan þana stain þarei was. iþ Iesus uzuhhof augona iup jah qab: atta, awiliudo þus, unte andhausides mis*

Grk. ἦσαν οὖν τὸν λίθον. ὁ δὲ ἰησοῦς ἦρεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄνω καὶ εἶπεν, πάτερ, ἐὺχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι ἤκουσάς μου

NHG Da nahmen sie den Stein weg. Jesus aber erhob seine Augen und sprach: Vater, ich danke dir, dass ꝥ mich erhört hast

NE They took away the stone from the place where the dead was laid. And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said, Father, I thank you that you have heard me.

Luke 10:21

Goth. *inuh þizai hveilai swegnida ahmin Iesus jah qab: andhaita þus, atta, frauja himinis jah airþos, unte affalht þo faura snutrim jah froðaim jah andhulides þo niuklahaim. Jai, at-ta, unte swa warþ galeikaip in andwairþja þeinamma. jah gawandips du siponjam seinaim qab:*

Grk. ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ᾧρα ἡγαλλιάσατο[ἐν] τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ εἶπεν, ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν, καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις· ναί, ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου.

NHG In dieser Stunde rief Jesus, vom Heiligen Geist erfüllt, voll Freude aus: Ich preise dich, Vater, Herr des Himmels und der Erde, weil du all das den Weisen und Klugen verborgen, den Unmündigen aber offenbart hast. Ja, Vater, so hat es dir gefallen.

NE In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank you, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that you have hid these things from the wise and prudent, and have revealed them unto babies: even so, Father; for so it seemed good in your sight.

In the two phrases, one can not decide definitely, whether *atta* means an intimate relationship based on respect and admiration or a blood rela-

tionship with the divine 'Father.' Namely, we can not tell the differences of meanings between *fadar* and *atta* which Sen argues.

Ebbinghaus (1974, pp. 97-101) argues that in Greek ὁ πατήρ covered the meaning of the aramaic form *a'bbā* as *pater* did in the Latin Bible, but Gothic *atta* does not cover it. Therefore, *fadar*, having lost the rather wide semantic possibilities of its ancestor **pətēr* to *atta*, lived a very restricted life in the Gothic vocabulary equal in fact to the Aramaic *a'bbā* and had perhaps the status as a word of religious character.

Bammesberger (1994, p. 2) shows the opinion that the translator seems to use *fadar* in Galatians 4:6 because another word *atta* is somehow not suited for the solemn context. Perhaps it was felt to mean something like Daddy. However, he adds to the opinion the fact that it might be also asserted that the word for 'father' was unattested in Gothic, considering the rare occurrence.

As we have seen above, several arguments dealing with the semantic aspects for *fadar* and *atta* are different from one another. That is, it is very difficult for us to decide definitely the difference of meanings between two words. Moreover, we can not examine the arguments of Sen (1972) and Ebbinghaus (1974), unfortunately because other phrases in which the translations of *a'bbā* can be observed are not attested in the Gothic Bible.

Therefore, in this article, I accept the first possibility which Sen (1972, p. 255-259) suggested, but abandoned. It is the hypothesis that the word *atta* was 'the more frequent form' in Wulfila's language and in those times.

Considering that Wulfila who translated the Gothic Bible was born in 311 and died in 383 (or 384?), the Gothic linguistic material is truly synchronic in character and stands in contrast with languages like Hittite, Sanskrit and Greek containing many possibilities of historical linguistic changes. Therefore, the preference for *atta*, a nursery word, to *fadar* can be regarded as a peculiar phenomenon in Gothic relating to habits for word uses.

In the next Chapter, I will deal with the another representative kinship term for 'mother' which makes a pair in the world with the term for 'father'. For the term for 'mother' a peculiar phenomenon is observed in Gothic also.

2.2.2. Term for 'mother' in Gothic in comparison with terms in other Indo-European languages.

For 'mother', in Gothic, only *aipei* 'mother, mama', not *modar** inherited from PIE **māter*, is attested in *ein*-stem class¹⁶), while in other Indo-European languages the cognates of PIE **māter* are observed, e.g. Grk. μήτηρ, Lat. *māter*, Skt. *matar*, Aves. *matar*, OCS *mati*, ON *mōðir*, OHG *muoter*, OE *mōdor*, OIr. *mathir* etc. Even in OCS which shows for 'father' only *otici*, not the cognate of PIE **pāter*, *mati* is attested.

Feist (1939, p. 28) suggests that *aipei* would be borrowed from Iris. (Inscription). OHΘH, if Grk. H would be read to ι. And he suggests that this word which originally comes from a proper noun has pushed in Gothic the old Indo-European kinship term *modar** out.

Luke 1:43

Goth. *jah habro mis bata, ei gemi aipei frauþins meinis at mis?*

Gk. καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου πρὸς ἐμέ;

NHG und Wer bin ich, dass die Mutter meines Herrn zu mir kommt?

NE and from what place is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?

Mark 3:34

Goth. *sai, aipei meina jah bai broþrjus meinai*

Gk. Ἴδε ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου

NHG Das hier sind meine Mutter und meine Brüder

NE Behold my mother and my brothers

The word Goth. *aipei* has no cognates in other Indo-European languages. Only besides the inherited forms from PIE **māter*, in other Indo-European languages two kinds of nursery words are attested, so-called, 1) a type of *mama* and *amma* and 2) a type of *nana* and *anna*.

As a type of *mama* which is best known to us, Grk. μάμμε 'grandmother', Lat. *mamma* 'grandmother, nurse', Wels. *mam* etc. exist, and as a type of *amma*, Grk. ἀμμά, ἄμμάς, Skt. *ambā* 'nurse', ON *amma* 'grandmother', Lat. *amita* 'aunt', OHG *amma* 'nurse' etc. exist. As a type of *nana*, Grk. νάννα 'aunt', Ital. *nonna* 'grandmother,' and as a type of

¹⁶) Nom. Sing. *aipei* (18 times), Gen. Sing. *aipeins* (3 times), Dat. Sing. *aipein* (10 times), Acc. Sing. *aipein* (11 times), Acc. pl. *aipeins* (3 times) are attested (Snædal 1998, pp. 37-38).

anna, Grk. ἀννίς ‘grandmother,’ Lat. *anus* ‘old woman,’ OHG *ana* ‘grandmother’ etc. exist.

2.2.3. Relations with *atta* ‘father’ and *aipei* ‘mother’ in Gothic

Bammesberger (1994, p. 2) argues that in Indo-European languages the word for ‘mother’ reconstructed to PIE **māter* is attested more widely than the word for ‘father’ reconstructed to PIE **pātēr*, and we might conclude from this that the word for ‘mother’ arose at an earlier stage of Indo-European than the word for ‘father.’ According to his opinion, one could be tempted, therefore, to say that **ma-* is a very basic nursery element which served as the linguistic material on which the term **māter* was built, and **pātēr* could have arisen secondarily and could somehow mirror the pattern set by **ma-*. In the agreement with Bammesberger’s opinion, Schmeja (1999) asserts that PIE **pātēr* is a secondary formation by *ter-* analogous to **māter* from the nursery word **papa*.

But, this general word for ‘mother’ inherited from **māter* is not attested in Gothic, and as we have seen in the chapter 2.2.2, *aipei*, instead of the expected form *modar**, is observed.

Köbler (1989, p. 5) supposes that Goth. *aipei* is another nursery word for ‘mother’ which has no cognates in other Indo-European languages, and Buck (1949, p. 103) argues that *aipei* is probably new feminine form according to *atta* which was a popular masculine form in the times of translation.

Actually, in so many phrases, *aipei* is used in a pair with *atta*.¹⁷⁾

Mark 7:10

Goth. *swerai attan beinana jah aiþein þeina*

Grk. τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου

NHG Ehre deinen Vater und deine Mutter!

NE honor your father and your mother!

Mark 7:11

Goth. *qibai manna attin seinamma aiþþau aiþein*

Grk. ἐὰν εἴπῃ ἄνθρωπος τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρὶ

NHG dass einer zu seinem Vater oder seiner Mutter sagt

17) Besides these phrases, it occurs 11 times (e.g. *attan jah aiþein*, *attin aiþþau aiþein*, *attans jah aiþeins*) in the Gothic Bible (Snædal, 1998, p. 38).

NE if a man say to his father and his mother

Timothy1 1:9

Goth. ak witodalausaim jah untalaim jah unsibjaim jah frawaurhtaim
jah unairknaim jah usweiham, attans bliggwandam jah aibeins
bliggwandam, mannans maurþrjandam,

Grk. ἀνόμοις δὲ καὶ ἀνυπο τάκτοις, ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς, ἀνοσίτοις
καὶ βεβήλοις, πατρολόγαις καὶ μητρολόγαις, ἀνδροφόνοις,

NHG sondern für Gesetzlose und Ungehorsame, für Gottlose und
Sünder, für Menschen ohne Glauben und Ehrfurcht, für solche,
die Vater oder Mutter töten, für Mörder,

NE but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sin-
ners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and mur-
derers of mothers, for manslaughterers

By now, it is not yet known what the definite etymology of *aipei* is. But, as *atta*, instead of *fadar*, for 'father' is usually used in Gothic, the fact that a *aipei*, instead of *modar** for 'mother,' is also usually used in Gothic is very interesting. Excluding *fadar* which only once in Galatians 4:6, the usual kinship terms from PIE for 'father' and 'mother' are never observed in Gothic. It is also very remarkable in the point that both words, most of all, belong to 'basic words'¹⁸⁾ which do not easily change or are not exchanged with other words and kinship terms for 'father' and 'mother' are best preserved and attested in most other Indo-European languages. Moreover, they are the representative words making a pair in the nature, therefore in the language also.

3. Conclusion

In this article, I have dealt with problems relating to the gothic kinship terms for 'father' based on the disproportionate occurrences of *fadar* and *atta* (and *abba*) in the Gothic Bible.

With the usual use of *atta* regarded as a nursery word, many researchers have tried to explain in various aspects the reason for the only occurrence of the inherited form (from PIE) *fadar* in Galatians 4:6. But,

18) see the footnote 4.

according to my research, any existing argument could not explain this problem exactly.

The opinion for cacophony by Jellinek (1926) needs more examples in other phrases to be more reliable, and the difference of semantic field between two terms, *fadar* and *atta* argued by many researchers (e.g. Sen 1972; Ebbinghaus 1974; Bammesberger 1994) are obvious, neither. (see Chapter 2.2.1).

Bammesberger (1994) insists that *fadar* would be in principle an unattested form in Gothic, and that Wulfila would have used it in Galatians 4:6 voluntarily. But, considering the existence of a derived form *fadreins* from *fadar*, it is sure that in Gothic both terms for 'father', not only *atta* but also *fadar*, existed, and if Wulfila used *fadar* voluntarily and intentionally for the phrase Galatians 4:6, I think that the opinion for cacophony by Jellinek (1926) seems to be more persuadable than opinions for the difference of semantic field by Sen (1972) and Ebbinghaus (1974).

With something to be desired in these several arguments, in this article I tried to find the solution in correlation with the another kinship term for 'mother' which shows like the terms for 'father' a remarkable one in Gothic. That is, the cognate of PIE **māter* known as more general term than that of PIE **pāter* is also unattested in Gothic, and the word *aipei*, instead of the expected form *modar** from PIE, is widely used.

By now, the definite etymology of *aipei* is not known. But according to my opinion, the problem for *atta* and *fadar* can be explained with two possibilities in relation with *aipei* as follows:

At first, if *aipei* is a nursery word like *atta*, the usual use of *atta* for 'father' can be regarded as a synchronic tendency in Gothic in which nursery words are more frequently used than inherited forms. It could be caused by linguistic habits of Gothic or with any religious intention by the translator. But, considering that the based text is the Bible which is somehow conservative in the translation, I think that the translator wouldn't have used intentionally the nursery word *atta*, though the word *fadar* which clearly corresponds to Grk. existed as the cognate in Gothic *πατέρ* as the cognate. Therefore, it seems that it is a natural result from linguistic habits for use of nursery words.

Secondly, even if *aipei* is not a nursery word unlike *atta*; the broaden use of *atta* can be affected, at any rate, by *aipei* through analogy or interrelation, because two terms make a pair in the nature, therefore, they

are also closely connected each other in language. But, to support this argument, I think that more researches in various aspects for Gothic and a further comparative study with other Indo-European languages based on actual realization are necessary. And I believe that the relation between nursery words and inherited words in actual use can be a very interesting theme which is useful for understanding Indo-European languages and societies.

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